

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2592

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 22158

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PO

SUBJECT: GONCALVES INTERVIEW IN LE MONDE

1. LE MONDE OF AUGUST 29 CARRIES AN INTERVIEW BY DOMINIQUE POUCHIN OF PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES APPARENTLY GIVEN ON AUGUST 27. EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FOLLOWS:

2. OPENING THE ARTICLE, GONCALVES IS QUOTED AS SAYING:

"TO MARCH TOWARD SOCIALISM OR TO RETURN TO FASCISM:

PORTUGAL IS AT THE MOMENT OF CHOICE. IT HAS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE ... THE REVOLUTION IS IN DANGER, THREATENED BY REACTIONARY FORCES WHICH FIND SUPPORT IN THE ARMY AND IN THE LEADERSHIP OF CERTAIN LEFTIST PARTIES ... WE ARE NOW LIVING THROUGH A BLOODY FIGHT OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. THE PETITE BOURGEOISIE IS TRYING TO TAKE IT OVER. NOT, OF COURSE, TO LEAD TO SOCIALISM BUT TO FOOL THE PEOPLE BY USING SOCIALISTIC LANGUAGE AND BY CARRYING OUT A CONTRARY POLICY. THAT IS A WELL-KNOWN STAGE IN ALL REVOLUTIONS. AS WE ADVANCE TOWARD THE BUILDING OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, WE SHALL ENCOUNTER STRONGER AND STRONGER RESISTANCE. DECISIVE CHOICES BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO TAKE WITH THE DIFFERENT LAYERS OF THE BOURGEOISIE FIGHTING

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FEROCIOUSLY TO OPPOSE THE DIRECTION OF THE PROCESS AND

TO TURN IT FROM ITS AIMS. OUR ENEMIES DEPLOY THE CLASSIC ARSENAL OF REACTIONARY PROPAGANDA, THEY USE LIES AND WISH TO HAVE IT BELIEVED THAT WE WISH TO BUILD A TOTALITARIAN STATE, TO COPY THE SOVIET MODEL."

3. ASKED WHETHER PORTUGAL CAN TAKE INSPIRATION FROM CLASSICAL WESTERN DEMOCRACY, GONCALVES SAID: "THERE IS NO PLACE HERE FOR BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY. WE ARE COMING OUT OF A HALF CENTURY OF FASCISM AND CAPITALISM HAVING ITS OWN CHARACTERISTICS WHICH CANNOT BE TRANSFORMED INTO CAPITALISM OF THE "LIBERAL" TYPE IN THE CURRENTLY UNFOLDING REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. GIVEN THE BACKWARDNESS OF OUR PRODUCTIVE FORCES, AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH SUCH A SOCIETY WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD THE BOURGEOISIE TO EXERCISE INCREASED REPRESSION OVER THE WORKERS. CAPITALISM WOULD NEED A NEW REGIME OF FORCE.

4. "THE CURRENT VIOLENCE WELL REFLECTS THIS REALITY. BY ITS GREAT ERRORS, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS NOT OPENED THE WAY TO LIBERAL BOURGEOIS TENDENCIES (SIC). IT ALSO UNLEASHED AN OFFENSIVE BY THE MOST REACTIONARY FORCES. I WANT TO BE WELL UNDERSTOOD: IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF CONFUSING THE MASS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PARTY. THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS INDISPENSABLE TO THE REVOLUTION, BUT ITS LEADERSHIP IS NOT SOCIALIST".

4. ASKED WHETHER THIS KIND OF CONFLICT COULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE MFA, GONCALVES SAID: "YES. THE DOCUMENT OF THE 'NINE' AND, IN A GENERAL WAY, THE ELECTORALIST TENDENCIES WITHIN THE MFA ARE OPPOSED TO THE REVOLUTION-

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ARY FORCES ACTING WITHIN THE ARMY. THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS DOCUMENT WAS DISTRIBUTED IS PROFOUNDLY NEGATIVE. CERTAINLY THE ARMED FORCES OUGHT TO BE EDUCATED POLITICALLY. THAT IS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR DISCIPLINE BUT POLITIZATION CANNOT BE DONE IN ANARCHY."

6. DESCRIBING THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN BY CERTAIN COPCON OFFICERS, GONCALVES SAID: "IT IS A PROGRESSIST DOCUMENT WHICH HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THAT OF THE 'NINE'. THE PROPOSITIONS THAT IT ADVANCES ARE ON THE WHOLE CORRECT, AND HAVE BEEN TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE PROGRAM OF THE 5TH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT CALLED 'SAVE THE REVOLUTION'. THE OFFICERS OF COPCON ARE POINTING TO A SOCIALIST PATH; THE 'NINE' EXPRESS A PETIT BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC WAY".

7. SPEAKING OF THE MFA ASSEMBLY, GONCALVES SAID: "THE MFA ASSEMBLY IS AN ORGAN OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY ENDOWED WITH A REVOLUTIONARY LEGITIMACY EQUAL TO THAT OF THE APRIL 25 MOVEMENT. THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTION ARE MEMBERS OF THAT ASSEMBLY. THEY DRAW THEIR LEGITIMACY FROM IT. IF THEY CONTEST IT, THEY THEREBY CONTEST THEMSELVES. IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THE NEXT MEETING WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE UNITY OF THE MFA AND WILL PERMIT A DEFINITION OF THE GENERAL UNCLASSIFIED

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DIRECTION OF POLITICAL-MILITARY ACTIVITY."

8. ASKED WHETHER THE "NINE MODERATES" COULD BE REINTEGRATED INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, GONCALVES SAID THAT THE ASSEMBLY ALONE COULD DECIDE. "BUT I THINK THAT THE GROUP OF 'NINE' IS NOT AN HOMOGENOUS ENTITY; THAT IS AN ELEMENT WHICH OUGHT TO GUIDE THE REFLECTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY."

9. REGARDING THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY GONCALVES SAID HE HAD LITTLE TIME TO FOLLOW ITS WORK. "IN A CERTAIN MANNER, IT HAS OVERSTEPPED ITS MANDATE -- WHICH WAS TO WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION -- BY ORGANIZING DEBATES ON CURRENT POLICY DURING THE PRE-AGENDA PERIOD."
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